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 B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

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FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM NIACT IMMEDIATE

SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2182

INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

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USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8883

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 ADDIS ABABA 003316

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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TAGS: PREL, AORC, OAU, RW

SUBJECT: OAU SYG CALLS FOR EXPANDED UN FORCE IN RWANDA

REF: ADDIS ABABA 3313 (NOTAL)

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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 SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION  
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER  
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)  
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 14 MAY 2016  
 DATE/CASE ID: 06 MAY 2011 201005065

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2. SUMMARY: A/S SHATTUCK AND OAU SYG SALIM AGREED ON THE NEED FOR AN EXPANDED UN MILITARY FORCE IN RWANDA. THE FORCE SHOULD SUPERVISE THE CEASE-FIRE, PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, AND PROTECT CIVILIANS. THE UN WOULD PROVIDE LOGISTICAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT; THE OAU WOULD ROUND UP TROOPS FROM AFRICAN COUNTRIES. SALIM WILL CALL THE UNSYG AND UNHRC TO SUPPORT THE IDEA OF THE INTERNATIONAL FORCE AND AN INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATION. END SUMMARY.

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3. INTRODUCTION: ON 5 MAY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS JOHN SHATTUCK MET WITH ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) SECRETARY GENERAL SALIM AHMED SALIM TO DISCUSS THE CRISIS IN RWANDA. SALIM, CITING HIS PERSONAL ANGST AND EVIDENTLY MOVED AND FRUSTRATED BY THE CRISIS AND THE UNCERTAIN OUTCOME OF THE ARUSHA TALKS, GAVE A RAMBLING PRESENTATION BEFORE FINALLY FOCUSING ON CONCRETE STEPS THE OAU, USG, AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN TAKE TO ADDRESS POSITIVELY THE RWANDAN CRISIS. A/S SHATTUCK WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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ACCOMPANIED BY DAS MCKINLEY, AMBASSADOR RAWSON,  
AMBASSADOR BAAS, JUDITH KAUFMANN, AND EMBASSY ADDIS  
POLECONOFF. SALIM'S NOTETAKER WAS CHRIS JOHNSON.

A/S SHATTUCK EXPRESSES USG CONCERN

4. A/S SHATTUCK underscored the importance President Clinton attaches to resolving the crisis. Shattuck told Salim that the President appreciates the efforts put forth thus far by the Syg and the OAU. President Clinton asked A/S Shattuck to consult with regional leaders to identify creative yet realistic methods to resolve the appalling human rights and humanitarian nightmare in Rwanda. The A/S noted how unfortunate it was that the international force in Rwanda had neither the mandate nor the personnel to address Rwanda's current problems and articulated the USG desire to help develop and support a reconfigured and reconstituted international presence in Rwanda.

5. A/S Shattuck told Salim that since October 1993 the USG has provided a total of USD 63 million towards

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HUMANITARIAN RELIEF EFFORTS TO ASSIST THE PEOPLE OF RWANDA. HE ADDED THAT A DISASTER ASSISTANCE AND RELIEF TEAM IS PREPARED TO ASSESS AND RESPOND TO THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS. IN ADDITION, THE USG WAS READY TO PROVIDE LOGISTICAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONS ON BEHALF OF RWANDA. FINALLY, THE USG SUPPORTED STRONGLY UN SECURITY COUNCIL

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RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR AN ARMS EMBARGO ON RWANDA AND  
CALLING FOR THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER TO COMMENCE  
AN INVESTIGATION OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

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SALIM ON BURUNDI, ARUSHA, UNAMIR  
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6. THE OAU SYG RESPONDED FIRST WITH A FAIRLY DESPONDENT  
ASIDE

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. COMING AROUND TO THE MAIN POINT, SALIM SAID THAT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA IS PARTICULARLY HORRIFIC, EVEN INDESCRIBABLE. FURTHERMORE, IT APPEARED TO HIM THAT SOME RWANDESE LEADERS DO NOT UNDERSTAND - EVEN CARE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 ADDIS ABABA 003316

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ABOUT - THE MAGNITUDE OF THE CRISIS. THE SYG SAID THAT ON 3 MAY IN ARUSHA HE SPENT FOUR HOURS TALKING WITH LEADERS OF THE RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) AND ONE AND A HALF HOURS WITH OFFICIALS OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA. HE EXPRESSED PARTICULAR DISGUST WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, SAYING THAT HE OBSERVED LITTLE REMORSE ON THEIR PART AND THAT THEY WANTED TO NEGOTIATE OVER STOPPING THE MASSACRES.

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PERPETRATED THE RECENT KILLINGS IN BUTARI IF THE RPF IS NOT THERE? SALIM WENT ON TO CAUTION THE USG DELEGATION NOT TO SEE THE RWANDA CRISIS IN STRICT ETHNIC TERMS. HE SAID THAT MOST OF THE "FAST KILLINGS" IN KIGALI WERE OF HUTU OFFICIALS WHO WERE SEEN AS CRONIES OF HABYARIMANA AND/OR ABLE TO WORK WITH THE RPF.

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8. UNSC DECISION TO REDUCE UNAMIR: SALIM THEN SAID HE CAN NOT UNDERSTAND HOW THE UNSC COULD HAVE REDUCED THE INTERNATIONAL FORCE AT A TIME WHEN THE CRISIS DEMANDED A STRONGER INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE. HE QUESTIONED PARTICULARLY THE ACQUIESCENCE OF THE AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE UNSC. ALTHOUGH HE COMPREHENDS THE LIMITATIONS PLACED ON UNAMIR HE SAID HE BELIEVES THE TASK FACING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY NOW IS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT THAN BEFORE.

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CEASE-FIRE

9. GULF BETWEEN RPF AND INTERIM GOVERNMENT: THE SYG SUGGESTED TRYING TO BRING A DEGREE OF RATIONALITY TO THE PROCESS AND THE PLAYERS NOW THAT ARUSHA HAS FAILED AND THE LEVEL OF HATRED AND SUSPICION IN RWANDA IS SO HIGH.

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[REDACTED] UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BOOH BOOH WHO SALIM BELIEVES IS DOING AN ADMIRABLE JOB UNDER THE MOST ADVERSE CONDITIONS. DURING THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SYG RPF LEADERS EXPRESSED INTRANSIGENCE REGARDING NEGOTIATIONS WITH OFFICIALS OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WHO IT HOLDS PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MURDER OF SO MANY RPF SUPPORTERS AND FAMILY MEMBERS. THE OUTCOME OF THE 23 APRIL TALKS IN ARUSHA HIGHLIGHTED THE GULF BETWEEN THE PARTIES: [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOUND UP IN GBADOLITE.

10. RPF ON A CEASE FIRE: SALIM SAID THAT RPF LEADERS TOLD HIM 3 MAY (ARUSHA II) THAT WHILE THEY SAID THEY

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WOULD COMMIT DEFINITELY TO A CEASE-FIRE, THEY WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, THE RPF WOULD SIGN A CEASE-FIRE DOCUMENT IN THE PRESENCE OF THE OAU AND FACILITATOR; WANTED NEGOTIATIONS TO BE CONVENED BY THE UNAMIR COMMANDER AND CONDUCTED BY THE RPF AND  
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INTERIM GOVERNMENT MILITARY FIELD COMMANDERS; AND WILL CITE A SPECIFIC DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO BEGIN. WHEN THE SYG TOLD THE RPF THAT HE WOULD ASK THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT FOR A SIMILAR PLEDGE THEY SAID NO, THAT SUCH AN ACTION WOULD CONFER LEGITIMACY ON THE GOVERNMENT, AND THAT THEY WOULD PREFER TO ISSUE A STATEMENT UNILATERALLY. SALIM ADDED THAT THE RPF IS A MORE DIFFICULT INTERLOCUTOR BECAUSE IT WILL HAVE NOTHING WHATSOEVER TO DO WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

11. INTERIM GOVERNMENT ON A CEASE FIRE: THE SYG SAID HE PUSHED THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO ALLOW THEIR FIELD COMMANDERS TO NEGOTIATE.

B1

[REDACTED] IT WOULD CONSIDER PERMITTING FIELD COMMANDERS TO NEGOTIATE BUT THE AGREEMENT ITSELF MUST ULTIMATELY BE MADE BETWEEN THE TWO POLITICAL LEADERSHIPS. COMMENTING ON THIS ISSUE, SALIM SPECULATED THAT COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND

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ITS FIELD COMMANDERS IS WEAK. IDENTIFYING SOME COMMON GROUND, SALIM STRESSED THAT PRESSURE TO GET BOTH SIDES TO LET THEIR FIELD COMMANDERS NEGOTIATE A CEASE FIRE IS NECESSARY AND MIGHT HAVE A POSITIVE RESULT.

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INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATION  
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12. SALIM AFFIRMS THE NEED: RESPONDING AFFIRMATIVELY TO QUESTIONS FROM A/S SHATTUCK SALIM STATED EMPHATICALLY THAT AN INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATION MUST BE

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LAUNCHED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE LONGER THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WAITS BEFORE INITIATING AN  
INVESTIGATION THE LOWER THE LIKELIHOOD OF SIGNIFICANT  
RESULTS.

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THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST SEND A CLEAR MESSAGE THAT  
HUMAN RIGHTS ARE A GLOBAL CONCERN, THAT THE TRAGEDY OF  
RWANDA PERTAINS NOT ONLY TO RWANDA OR AFRICA, BUT TO THE  
WHOLE WORLD, A WORLD WHICH CONTAINS MANY ACTUAL AND  
POTENTIAL "RWANDAS." AN INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION OF  
HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES WOULD ALSO HELP ASSUAGE THE FEELINGS  
OF THE VICTIMS' FAMILIES. IN ADDITION, THE RPF HAS  
INVITED AN INVESTIGATION AND PLEDGED ITS ASSISTANCE IN  
RPF-CONTROLLED AREAS. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM  
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AMBASSADOR RAWSON

B1

13. HOW TO LAUNCH AN INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION?  
RESPONDING TO SALIM'S CONCERN THAT THE INVESTIGATION  
MIGHT BE DETERRED BY POLITICAL AND SECURITY CONCERNS,  
A/S SHATTUCK URGED THE SYG TO TELEPHONE THE UN SECRETARY  
GENERAL AND THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER TO VOICE  
HIS STRONG SUPPORT FOR AN INVESTIGATION. THE A/S SAID  
THAT SUCH AN INVESTIGATION WAS CITED RECENTLY IN A UNSC  
RESOLUTION AND IN A STATEMENT BY THE UNHRC. SALIM'S  
SUPPORT COULD FURTHER THE PROCESS, ESPECIALLY VIS-A-VIS  
BOUTROS-GHALI WHO MIGHT FEAR THAT SUCH AN INVESTIGATION  
WOULD FAIL AND REDOUND NEGATIVELY ON THE UN. SALIM  
REPLIED THAT HE WAS PREPARED TODAY (5 MAY) TO BACK  
PUBLICLY SUCH AN INVESTIGATION. (NOTE: REFTEL IS THE  
OAU STATEMENT BASED ON THE SYG'S MEETING WITH A/S  
SHATTUCK WAS RELEASED AT 1230 ZULU. IT CALLED FOR,  
INTER ALIA, AN INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE  
OUTBREAK OF MASS KILLINGS AND GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN  
RIGHTS IN RWANDA.)

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INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN FORCE

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14. DELICATE BALANCE: SALIM SAID THE RPF OVERCAME  
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INITIAL OBJECTIONS TO AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE AND  
ACCEPTED THE SYG'S IDEA OF A FORCE WHICH WOULD PROVIDE  
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND PROTECT CIVILIANS. SUCH A  
FORCE WOULD NOT HAVE A MANDATE TO STOP THE FIGHTING BUT  
SHOULD HAVE THE PHYSICAL AND LEGAL CAPACITY TO RESPOND  
APPROPRIATELY TO VIOLATIONS. THE RPF ACCEPTED THE SYG'S  
SUGGESTION THAT AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE HAVE WITHIN ITS  
MANDATE THE SUPERVISION OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE  
PROTECTION OF CIVILIANS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE INTERIM  
GOVERNMENT SAID THEY WANT AN INTERVENTION FORCE CAPABLE  
OF STOPPING THE FIGHTING. THE SYG TOLD A/S SHATTUCK  
THAT THE IDEA OF AN ENLARGED UN FORCE SHOULD BE  
SUPPORTED AND PURSUED VIGOROUSLY. ITS TERMS AND METHODS  
OF WORK WOULD BE NEGOTIABLE BUT THE RPF AND THE INTERIM  
GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE CONSULTED TO PREVENT THE  
UNNECESSARY USE OF FORCE BY ANY PARTY AGAINST ANOTHER.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 05 ADDIS ABABA 003316

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15. HOW TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE?

B1

THE U.S. WAS THE

ONLY NON-AFRICAN COUNTRY WILLING TO HELP THE LIBERIAN  
RECONCILIATION PROCESS.

16. OAU TO MOBILIZE AFRICAN TROOPS: THE OAU, SALIM

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SAID, CAN MOBILIZE AFRICAN TROOPS; THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD PROVIDE THE LOGISTICAL SUPPORT, FINANCIAL RESOURCES, AND AUTHORITY FOR THE OPERATION.

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[REDACTED]

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17. CONNECTION BETWEEN THE FORCE AND THE INVESTIGATION: DAS MCKINLEY DREW PARTICIPANTS' ATTENTION TO THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN FORCE AND AN INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATION. WHILE EACH IS IMPORTANT AND HAS ITS OWN DYNAMIC, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE IN RWANDA WOULD IMPROVE THE LIKELIHOOD THAT AN INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION COULD OPERATE SAFELY AND, HOPEFULLY, PRODUCTIVELY. FURTHERMORE, SINCE THE RPF HAS SAID IT WANTS AN INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION, THE RPF SHOULD BE PREVAILED UPON TO ACCEPT AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE AS A MEANS TO ADVANCE THE INVESTIGATION. THE SYG AGREED WITH BOTH POINTS BUT COUNSELED THAT THE FORCE SHOULD NOT BE HELD HOSTAGE TO THE INVESTIGATION.

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CONCLUSIONS  
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18. BY THE END OF THE DISCUSSION THE SYG SALIM AND A/S SHATTUCK HAD REACHED AGREEMENT ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES ON WHICH THEY PLANNED TO TAKE ACTION.

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-- THE SYG AND THE A/S WOULD ISSUE A JOINT STATEMENT  
BASED ON THEIR DISCUSSION (OAU PRESS RELEASE IN REFTEL)

-- AN ENLARGED UN FORCE WAS DESIRABLE. THE UN AND  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD PROVIDE LOGISTICAL AND  
FINANCIAL SUPPORT AS WELL AS THE "AUTHORITY;" THE OAU  
WOULD MUSTER UP THE TROOPS, MOST LIKELY NOT FROM  
RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS.

-- SALIM WILL CONTACT BOUTROS-GHALI TO PROPOSE/SUPPORT  
THE IDEA OF AN ENLARGE FORCE AND FIND OUT FROM THE UNSYG  
WHAT LEVEL OF POLITICAL AND TROOP SUPPORT MIGHT BE  
FORTHCOMING FROM VARIOUS COUNTRIES. SALIM WILL ALSO  
SUPPORT AN INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATION.

-- THE OAU SYG WILL CONTACT AFRICAN COUNTRIES SEEKING  
TROOP CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE EXPANDED UN FORCE.

-- THE UN FORCE WOULD PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE  
AND PROTECTION TO CIVILIANS, SUPERVISE THE CEASE-FIRE,  
AND FACILITATE THE WORK OF AN INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS

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INVESTIGATION.

-- THE OAU SYG WILL CONTACT UNHRC AYALA-LASSO BEFORE 8  
MAY TO LEND HIS SUPPORT TO THE IDEA OF AN INTERNATIONAL  
HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATION IN RWANDA.

19. EVIDENTLY PLEASED WITH THE SUBSTANCE AND OUTCOME OF  
THE DISCUSSIONS, THE SYG EXPRESSED DEEP GRATITUDE FOR  
THE USG'S POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC, AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT  
FOR THE OAU IN RECENT YEARS. FEELING BUOYED, SALIM SAID  
THAT THE OAU MUST DO MORE THAN INHERIT PROBLEMS THAT THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY (READ UN) FAILS TO HANDLE  
PROPERLY.

20. A/S SHATTUCK DID NOT CLEAR THIS MESSAGE PRIOR TO  
DEPARTURE.

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**21. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.**

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